

by another name: sometimes it is called *nihléle*, in other cases again *pini*, words which have their equivalents in the Mataco and the Toba languages in the terms *aláh* and *kaipák* respectively. In regard to all these words we have to remember that they belong to the particular mystical terminology of the sorcerers and cannot exactly be translated into any civilized language. The Indian «arrow» or «splinter» is half an inanimate object, half a live being, half material, half spiritual, half natural, half supernatural. Whatever it is, it is to the primitive mind the most real thing possible, because its existence is manifested by its dreadful effects.

The Choroti Indian, who works evil against his fellow-tribesmen by throwing spells against them, is called a wizard (*ayíeu*). The expression for the nefarious operation itself is in the Choroti language *páhu ahuli sikiätsä*, («to work evil against a fellow-man by means of witchcraft»). For the purpose of bewitching another Indian the sorcerer tries if possible to get hold of something that has been in close contact with the victim's body, for instance a single hair, a little saliva when he has spat on the ground, something of his excrement, a piece of his clothes, etc., and uses these things as vehicles for his curses. But even a medicine-man or curer, as we have seen, is called *ayíeu*, and there is thus no essential difference between an Indian practising black or nefarious magic and one practising white magic. A man in possession of a guardian spirit may use his art either for the benefit of his fellow-tribesmen or to harm them, according as to whether he regards them as his friends or as his foes.

Besides rheumatism, affections of the throat and the chest, arising from chill, are very common among the Chaco Indians during the dry season. The Indian explanation invariably is that an evil spirit has entered into that particular part of the body where the pain is felt. If a Choroti Indian suffers from head-ache and I ask him what is the matter with him, he will answer that he has a *möhsek* in the head; if he suffers from a catarrh, he will point to his throat or his chest and say that a *möhsek* has taken its seat in either of these parts of the body. In a village I once met an old woman who had her right fore-arm paralyzed, evidently in consequence of a fit of apoplexy. She explained to me that the arm had been seized by an evil *möhsek*, and had tied a dirty woollen band round the arm at the wrist so as to prevent the evil spirit from penetrating further into the body.

If the demon is allowed to complete his work of destruction in the

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- 761 body the patient will die, i.e. his soul will be compelled to leave its abode. The exertions of the medicine-man again are aimed at expelling the evil intruder.

755 To conjure a disease-demon, that is, to expel it from the body of the patient by incantations and other magical means, is in the Choroti language called *apáhu*. The conjurations nearly always take place in the night or after darkness sets in. This is due to the idea, referred to above, that the night is the special time of the evil spirits. The natives of the Chaco are strengthened in this belief by the fact that catarrhs and other ailments from which they suffer are as a rule worse during the cold nights, whereas in the day-time when the sun is spreading warmth they are less felt. The treatment of the patient takes place outside the hut, generally under a shady algaroba tree, the place where the men assemble for their meetings and drinking-feasts.

[327] The procedure is always about the same. The medicine-man begins his treatment by spitting and blowing vigorously on the particular spot of the body where the evil is seated, and this action is from time to time repeated. This is done to «disinfect» the spot and to prepare it favourably for the extraction of the «arrow». Beneficial purifying effects are commonly ascribed to the saliva, and a medicine-man's saliva is particularly sacred, being imbued with the magic power which fills his whole body. Thereupon the conjuration proper begins. The «doctor» leans over the patient, closes his hand so as to form a tube, puts it on the sick spot and starts to sing, in a low muttering voice, a monotonous chant, ejaculating certain powerful words addressed to the evil demon. The chant mostly consists of refrains; it is evident that the efficacy of the conjuration is mainly ascribed to the voice itself and the breath of the curer, as well as to the very rhythm of the chant. The words or phrases uttered by the Choroti medicine-man are very stereotyped: in fact, they almost invariably seem to consist of the words: *náuhea, náuhea, hiame, hiame . . . náuhea, náuhea, hiame, hiame . . .* incessantly repeated, and only interrupted by the blowing, spitting, and other manipulations. Both words belong to the particular terminology of the medicine-men: *náuhea* means «at night», and *hiame* «go away!». The whole conjuration may thus be translated into: «When night sets in, go away, evil demon!». The phrase has reference to the fact that the evil spirits which cause sickness are believed to move about especially at night, and the doctor is trying, by his conjuration, to prevent the demons from coming back at that critical time to molest the patient. Exactly the same idea appears